1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

582 were Tanala prisoners of war whose antecedents were well known.
567 If the slave came of a good family, the fact that he or she was a slave carried little social stigma and the children would be accepted as equals by their relatives.

In unions of commoners and slaves there was no marriage cere-
[585] mony. If a common man took a slave woman as a concubine, her status was not changed unless a child was born to them. After this, the father was in honor bound to buy her and their child from her owner. He would usually free both of them by calling together his family and pronouncing a curse on anyone who thenceforth considered them as slaves. If he did this, the child inherited his gens and rank: If he failed to do it the child and mother remained slaves and might be sold by his heirs after his death.

If a woman who had been captured and enslaved bore a child to her master, her relatives might remove her slave status by paying a partial ransom. This was called *lanjalanganana* ("to replace carrying the bamboo") in reference to the long bamboo bottles used by slave women for carrying water. It was usually about half the
[435] woman's market value as a slave, perhaps four to six head of cattle. The payment of this ransom not only freed the woman and her offspring, but gave her an honorable position in the household equal to that of any of the regularly married wives.

Marriages between common women and slave men were less
[587] frequent, but by no means unknown. Middle-aged widows who wished to be only wives frequently took slave husbands. The first step was to buy the man, if he belonged to someone else. The woman then made a feast, killed an ox and distributed the meat to her relatives, and announced that this man was henceforth free and her husband. The wife had a whip hand in such unions. The husband, even though officially free, could not return to his own people. More-
[586] over, if he behaved badly or paid attention to other women, his wife could reduce him to slavery again and even sell him.

567 Children of common women and slave men took the gens and rank of the mother. However, if the father was a Tanala and had been a man of good family, or a noble, before his enslavement, the children might go back to his people when they were grown and could legitimately claim his gens and rank.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

601 The Tanala system of relationship terms is comparatively simple. It was impossible to get an authoritative list of the terms used by

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

the Ikongo, but informants knew of no differences between these and the terms used by the Menabe. Among the Menabe, lists were obtained for the Zafindiamanana tribe, as characteristic of the Teloarivo Varitra, and from the Zafindriantrova gens, as characteristic of the Teloarivo Atsimo. The terms agree in most cases, but where there are differences the Varitra terms are marked V and the Atsimo terms A. 601

Vady, "Spouse." Used as a reciprocal term of address by husband and wife, and also for reference. In the V group it is applied by the husband to the wife and all her sisters and by the wife to the husband and all his brothers.

Tompontranoko, "Master of my house." Term used in the A group by the husband for the wife's sisters and by the wife for the husband's brothers. It is a polite equivalent for *vady*, used for greater exactness.

Vady Lahy, "Male spouse." Term used in both groups by the husband for his wife's brothers and his sisters' husbands and by the wife for the husband's sisters and her brothers' wives. The wife uses it for her husband's sisters because they are *vadys* on the male side.

Zanakay, "Child." *Zanakay Lahy* (V) or *Dahy* (A) for boys and *Zanakay Viavy* for girls. Term applied by parents to children and, ordinarily, by uncles and aunts to nieces and nephews.

Zanaka Anabavy, "Child of my sister." Used by both sexes in referring to sisters' children or as term of address, for precision.

Zanadrahalahy, "Child of my brother." Used by both sexes in referring to brothers' children or as a term of address, for precision.

Baba, "Father." Used as term of address by actual children.

Bebe (an abbreviation of *Baba Be*, "great father"), "Grandfather." Used as a term of address for grandfather or great-grandfather and for all male relatives in their generations.

Vavy, "Grandmother." Used for grandmother or great-grandmother and for all female relatives in their generations.

Zafy, "Grandchild." Used as a term of address by grandparents or great-grandparents and all persons in their generations.

Talanolo (V) or *Zokonzanako* (A), "Firstborn." Used by parents in speaking of their eldest child of either sex, but not as a term of address.

Zoko Be (A) or *Zoky* (V). Term used by other children in addressing or referring to the eldest brother or sister.

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

601 *Zandry* (V). Term of address by children to youngest brother or sister.

Faranolo (A) or (V). *I'aralahy* for boy or *Faravavy* for girl. Term for youngest child used by parents or other children. The sense is "last born."

Rahalahy, "Brother." Used by a man for real brothers, male first and second cousins and wife's sisters' husbands.

Anakavy (V) or *Anabavy* (A), "Sister." Used by a man for real sisters, female first and second cousins and wife's brothers' wives.

Analahy (V) or *Anadahy* (A), "Brother." Used by women for real brothers, male first and second cousins and husband's sisters' husbands.

Rahavavy, "Sister." Used by women for real sisters and female cousins and sometimes for husband's brothers' wives.

The brother and sister terms will be used by practically all the people in a village who are of the same generation although properly applicable only to the degrees of relationship given.

Anjaravady, "Potential spouse." Reciprocal term used in the V group by the children or grandchildren of a brother and sister, if of opposite sex, and by a man and the daughter of his cross cousin. In the A group such persons call each other by the usual brother and sister terms.

Rahalahiandray (V) or *Rahalahiandraiko* (A), "Father's brother." Used by children of both sexes.

Anabavaniabako (V) or *Anabavanbaba* (A), "Father's sister." Used by children of both sexes.

Analahiandreny (V) or *Anadahiandreny* (A), "Mother's brother." Used by children of both sexes.

Rahavaviandreny, "Mother's sister." Used by children of both sexes.